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Message Text

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NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFELE

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, RH, TZ
SUBJECT: SCHAUFELE, ROWLANDS MEETING WITH NYERERE

1. SUMMARY. IN HOUR AND FORTY-FIVE MINUTE SESSION EVENING OCTOBER 2, ROWLANDS AND I PRESENTED CURRENT US AND UK VIEWS ON RHODESIAN SITUATION TO NYERERE. PRESIDENT EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH UK EFFORT TO DATE BUT URGED EVEN MORE DIRECT AND VIGOROUS ROLE. NYERERE AGREED NEXT STEP WAS NEGOTIATE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AT CONFERENCE TABLE AND UNDERTOOK ENCOURAGE UNITY AMONG NATIONALISTS BUT CONTINUED EXPRESS INTENSE SUSPICION SMITH AND STRESS THAT PRESENT SMITH PROPOSALS WERE NOT BASIS FOR REAL AFRICAN MAJORITY GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. I BEGAN MEETING WITH REVIEW DEVELOPMENTS ON RHODESIA TO DATE, EMPHASIZING MASSIVE PRESSURE US HAD USED TO GET SMITH AS FAR AS HE HAS COME, OUR BELIEF THAT A BREAKTHROUGH HAD TAKEN PLACE AND THAT A BAISS FOR NEGOTIATION EXISTS, THAT WE HAVE EXTRACTED MAXIMUM POSSIBLE FROM SMITH, AND THAT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOW BE DONE AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE AND NOT BY PUBLIC STATEMENTS. I WELCOMED RAPID UK RESPONSE IN CALLING CONFERENCE, EMPHASIZED THAT COUNCIL OF STATE IS REALLY MULTI-HEADED GOVERNOR GENERAL AND SAID I DID NOT SEE ROLE FOR SMITH IN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. AS NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED, US WILL BE PREPARED USE ITS INFLUENCE TO FACILATETE.

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3. ROWLANDS ADDED THAT UK WAS PROCEEDING PROMPTLY. IT WAS TRYING

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TO DETERMINE MUTUALLY AGREEABLE PLACE FOR CONFERENCE, HAD APPOINTED IVOR RICHARD AS CHAIRMAN, AND HAD ASKED ALL PARTIES TO JOIN. ITS SINGLE OBJECTIVE AT THIS STAGE WAS TO CREATE ABSOLUTELY NEW POWER STRUCTURE IN RHODESIA. UNTIL UK GOT SMITH'S AGREEMENT, IT COULDN'T CONTROL SITUATION. HE DESCRIBED PROCESS BY WHICH FIVE POINTS EMERGED, EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE OF EXPLOITING "MIRACLE" SECRETARY HAD WORKED WITH SMITH AND FACT THAT IN RHODESIA, UNLIKE OTHER COLONIAL SITUATIONS, DE FACTO POWER WAS WITH SMITH. ROWLANDS HOPED PRESIDENT NYERERE FELT THAT UK IS ACTING EFFECTIVELY.

4. NYERERE SAID HE WAS PLEASED WITH UK ACTION TO DATE. SO FAR NO DOORS HAD BEEN CLOSED. WHAT WAS NEEDED NOW WAS TO CLARIFY AND MOVE FORWARD. OF WHAT HAS BEEN DONE, HE ACCEPTS (A) THE NEED AND URGENCY OF FORMING A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND (B) THE AGREEMENT ON INDEPENDENCE WITHIN "THE PERIOD ANNOUNCED," WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS "TWO YEARS, 18 MONTHS, 16 MONTHS, EVEN LESS."

5. WHAT HE DOES NOT ACCEPT ARE DETAILS OF SMITH'S PROPOSAL FOR FORM OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT. AS NYERERE SEES IT, THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DO NOT EFFECTIVELY PROVIDE FOR A TRANSFER OF THE POWER SMITH NOW HOLDS TO AN AFRICAN MAJORITY. THE POWER STRUCTURE REMAINS COMPLETELY IN WHITE HANDS AND THE MONEY THAT FLOWS IN WILL GO TO REINFORCE THIS POWER STRUCTURE. SECONDLY, THE NATIONALISTS HAVE NOT AGREED TO FORMULA. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, AFRICANS CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO CALL OFF GUERRILLA FIGHTING AND AKS UN TO LIFT SANCTIONS.

6. THEREFORE, UK MUST NOW TAKE OVER, GET CONFERENCE GOING, AND GUIDE IT FIRMLY. AN ENGLISHMEN MAY NOW HAVE TO SHUTTLE TO KEEP THINGS GOING. AFRICANS HAVE BEEN USED TO HAVING A MINISTER IN THIS ROLE. WHY DOESN'T UK APPOINT A HIGH COMMISSIONER? IT HAS BO BE SOMEONE FROM BRITIAN. "YOU (US AND UK) ARE AFRAID SMITH WILL SLIP OFF THE HOOK BEFORE A CONFERENCE. I AM AFRAID OF THE KIND OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL ENABLE HIM SLIP OFF AFTER A CONFERENCE WHEN ALL OUR INSTRUMENTS OF PRESSURE HAVE BEEN DISSIPATED."

7. ROWLANDS AND I POINTED OUT DETAILS WERE EXACTLY WHAT WOULD BE SETTLED AT CONFERENCE. US AND UK APPRECIATE THAT AFRICANS NOT PREPARED CALL OFF FIGHTING AND SANCTIONS UNTIL THEY HAVE ACCEPTABLE

INTERIM GOVERNMENT. I NOTED THAT "TRANSITION" MEANS A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE OLD AND THE NEW. REALITIES OF THE SITUATION DICTATED A COMPROMISE WHICH RETAINED NECESSARY WHITE ROLE DURING TRANSITION. BOT ROWLANDS AND I STRESSED OUR BELIEF THAT SITUATION UNDER MUTUALLY AGREED UPON INTERIM GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE SO CHANGED THE SITUATION IN RHODESIA THAT AN IRRESISTABLE PROCESS WILL HAVE STARTED.

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8. NYERERE THEN ASKED ROWLANDS FOR HIS ESTIMATE CHANCES OF GETTING AN ACCEPTABLE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. ROWLANDS REPLIED THESE WOULD BE ENHANCED IF (A) ALL PARTIES WOULD WORK TO MAXIMIZE AREAS OF AGREEMENT (INSTEAD OF CONCENTRATING ON DISAGREEMENTS) AND (B) AFRICAN PRESIDENTS COULD PROMOTE GREATER UNITY AMONG NATIONALISTS WHEN THEY COME TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. IF THESE TWO PROCESSES WORK, THERE WILL BE A "SPORTING CHANCE."

9. IN RESPONSE ROWLANDS' QUERY AS TO WHETHER NYERERE HAD ANY SUGGESTIONS OR VETOES ON A SITE FOR CONFERENCE, NYERER SAID HE DID NOT. WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS AN "ATMOSPHERE OF EQUALITY" AND "A LOT OF WEIGHT AT THE HEAD OF THE TABLE." WHEN ROWLANDS ASKED WHAT HE THOUGHT ABOUT MAURITIUS OR LIVINGSTON AS SITES, NYERERE SAID OF THESE TWO, HE WOULD PREFER MAURITIUS.

10. THROUGHOUT DISCUSSION, NYERERE KEPT PRESSING BRITISH TO PLAY PROMPT AND VIGOROUS ROLE. HE SAID HE HAD ALWAYS TAKEN FOR GRANTED THAT WHITE MINORITY WOULD HAVE TO PLAY A ROLE IN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, AND THAT AFRICAN SIDE SHOULD LOOK UPON ITS OWN PARTICIPATION AS A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. HE WOULD CONTINUE TO DO HIS BEST TO PROMOTE UNITY AMONG AFRICANS.

11. COMMENT: NYERERE CLEARLY AGREED THAT EMPHASIS SHOULD NOW BE ON GETTING CONFERENCE STARTED. HE WANTS BRITISH TO PLAY MORE DIRECT AND VIGOROUS ROLE THAN THEY MAY BE ABLE OR WILLING TO DO. HE WILL PROBABLY BE SOURECE OF MUCH QUIBBLING OVER DETAILS OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AT CONFERENCE BUT IN OUR JUDGMENT HE IS STILL WILLING CONTINUE EFFORT TO FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN PREFERENCE TO RELYING SOLELY ON MILITARY ACTION. HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO TAKE DIFFERENT TACKS AS SITUATION DEVELOPS BUT HIS PRESENT POSITION IS NOT UNHELPFUL.

12. ROWLANDS' INITIAL INCLINATION WAS TO GO IN "SWINGING"
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BECAUSE OF NYERERE'S ERRATIC BEHAVIOR BUT DUFF AND I DISSUADED HIM BECAUSE WE STILL NEED NYERERE AND BECAUSE NYERERE WOULD TAKE IT VERY BADLY IN PRESENCE HIS SUBORDINATES. RESULT WAS THAT ROWLANDS NOT ONLY GAVE BEST PRESENTATION I HAVE HEARD FROM HIM ON THIS TRIP BUT ONE THAT WAS GOOD BY ANY STANDARDS.

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